i:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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Nicollet's time, some even within the recollection of Winnebago still living. All were unquestionably erected by the Winnebago, and since there is no reason for believing that this tribe entered Wisconsin many centuries before the first appearance of Europeans in America, it is quite erroneous to state, as Mr. Stout does, that the evidence at hand justifies us in dividing the occupancy of Wisconsin into two principal periods, the effigy mound-building era and the time that has elapsed since that period.

The use of copper by the Winnebago prior to their contact with Europeans is another of the rather baffling questions connected with Winnebago archeology. There are references to its use in the myth of the Twins, but the sections of the myth where it is mentioned show marked evidences of European influence and can hardly be accepted as reflecting the original mode of life of the Winnebago. Copper is found in a number of mounds, but we have no way of determining whether these mounds are pre-Columbian or not.

In all likelihood, almost all the copper found in Wisconsin comes from the original copper workings at Isle Royale, Keweenaw, Ontonagon, and elsewhere, in the Lake Superior district. "A provisional description of the territory in which the greatest number of such artifacts have been recovered up to the present time may be given as extending from about the middle of Milwaukee County, northward along the west shore of Lake Michigan to Door County, thence westward to the Wisconsin River or slightly beyond, thence southward along this stream to Dane County and eastward to Milwaukee County, the starting point. Embraced within this territory are the extensive lake shore village sites, from which thousands of articles have already been recovered, and certain well-known sites in Green Lake and adjoining counties, the Rush Lake and similarly productive regions."[1]

The region thus described embraces the Winnebago territory and that subsequently occupied by the Central Algonquian tribes. It does not follow the line of Winnebago migrations farther than the Wisconsin River to the west or farther than the southern boundary of Dane County to the south or southwest. As far as the writer knows no one has ever been able to obtain any information from the Winnebago that would in any manner connect them with the authorship of the copper implements found associated with their old village sites. All Indians questioned denied that their ancestors had ever used copper before the arrival of the early French traders. For the Winnebago, it seems to the writer, the problem connected with the occurrence of copper implements is not whether the Winnebago made them, but how they came to obtain them. The solution of this problem would be immensely facilitated if we had accurate knowledge

[1] Brown, in The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 88.

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867 787 the warpath.[7] So they say. If you do not become an individual warranted to lead a war party, yet mistaking yourself for one although really an ordinary warrior, you "throw away a man," your act will [686 be considered most disgraceful. A mourner might harm you in 627] revenge for the fact that you have caused him to mourn, and burn you with embers. Your people will all be sad, both on account of your disgrace and on account of the pain inflicted upon you.

787 867 776 My son, not with the blessing of one of the spirits merely, nor with the blessing of twenty, for that matter, can you go on the warpath. You must have the blessing of all the spirits above the earth, and of all those on the earth, and of all those who are pierced through the earth;[8] of all those under the earth; of all those who are under the water; of all those that are on the sides of the earth, i. e., all the four winds; of the Disease-giver;[9] of the Sun; of the Daylight;[10] of the Moon; of the Earth; and of all those who are in control of war powers—with the blessings of all these deities must you be provided before you can lead a successful war party.

867 554 My son, if you cast off dress[11] men will be benefited by your deeds. You will be an aid to all your people. If your people honor you, it will be good. And they will like you even the more if you obtain a

721 787 701 686 [622 [7] Among the Winnebago any individual who has been blessed with the necessary powers to lead a warpath may do so, but it is absolutely essential that his blessing directing him be of such a nature that every possible contingency is included therein. Such complete blessings are, of course, not common nor can they be obtained except through unusual exertions. If you are blessed with just the ordinary or incomplete war powers and you nevertheless undertake to lead a war party, you may either be defeated or perhaps only partially successful, and, what is worse, you may lose some of the warriors who started with you. Your restlessness has thus caused the death of some of your fellow tribesmen. It is understood that every warrior before starting on the warpath turn his "blessing" over to the chief of the tribe for examination, and if the chief considers it complete the warrior is not held responsible for the lack of success or loss of life. If the chief does not consider an individual's blessing sufficient to justify the object he has in view and forbids the warrior to go, and if the latter nevertheless goes, or granted the case he does not even submit his "blessing" to the chief for scrutiny, and starts out, then he is held directly responsible for any mishap on the warpath. The relatives of any individual thus killed may hold the war leader responsible and demand compensation; or, as is indicated by H. a few lines later, a mourner (i. e., one who has been placed in mourning by the criminal fearlessness of the war leader) might attack, perhaps kill him, without being held guilty of any crime. It must of course be understood that such occurrences would seldom take place. We must, however, remember throughout these "teachings" that one of the objects of the old men was to draw the most alluring pictures of the rewards that would fall to the lot of those who followed in the footsteps of their ancestors, and, on the other hand, to draw the most lurid pictures of the wretchedness that befell those who deviated, no matter in what details, from the customs sanctioned by age.

773 776 [8] According to the Winnebago creation myth, when Earthmaker, the creator of the earth, first came to consciousness and began creating life the earth on which we were to live was in continual motion, and nothing that the former could do seemed to be able to stop it. From above he threw down grass, trees, etc., but all was of no avail. Finally he hit upon the happy expedient of pinning the earth down at the four corners by means of four enormous snakes, or, as some say, by means of four mythical animals known as water spirits. It is to these that the old man is referring here. According to the story, even these were of no avail, and it was only when he finally placed four mythical beings known as "Island Wrights" at the four corners that our planet stopped spinning. These "Island Wrights" seem to be identical with the spirits of the four cardinal points, but they are not to be confused with the four winds mentioned later.

776 822 [9] A deity conceived of as dealing out life-giving powers from one half of his body and death-giving powers from the other half. He is also supposed to disseminate disease. Disease-giver is a literal translation of the Winnebago word, but this probably does not convey the exact meaning. There seems to be no parallel to this peculiar deity among the other Siouan tribes or among the Algonquins.

735 [10] Daylight or light is conceived of as something different and distinct from the sun.

[11] That is, if you give away things frequently, especially to poor people.

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867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
562 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
838 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
[778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[a] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
●773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.
[276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
[782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

[a] A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker made it thus.

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My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people,[17] I mean if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power!

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My son, if you are not able to fast,[18] try at least to obtain some plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers—that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits—then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines

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[17] Sickness is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube spirits sups water upon the afflicted person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to.

[18] Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evils left—the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines.

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616 526 As the basis of organization in a game, the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgerεgi* are always pitted against the *manεgi*. A well-known myth is associated with [173] this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgerεgi* and *manεgi* decided their respective rank by playing a game in which they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgerεgi* won and for that reason the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from this division. A division into two halves when playing ceremonial lacrosse is characteristic not only of the Winnebago but of [171] the Omaha, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, and other tribes. Among the former two, these sides are identical with the two aforementioned political divisions of the tribe, but among the latter two, where no such division exists, the tribe seems to divide itself into two halves merely on this occasion.

616 614 Up to the present we have treated the two divisions as social units per se, but now, before entering on the discussion of the clans, it may be well to point out the fact that the *waŋgirεgi* people are sometimes spoken of as the Bird clan (*waniŋk hokik'aradjera*), and that the four clans composing this side are so intimately related, and their clan origin myths so similar, that the assumption of the four clans representing one clan that subsequently split up into a number of divisions is not outside the realm of historical possibility. This is, however, quite immaterial, for whether we have one bird clan opposed to eight other animal clans is of little consequence, for historically it is not the bird clan that is opposing the other clans, but one social unit, the division, set off against another. The numerical equality that exists between these two sides, in spite of the disparity in the number of clans, is perhaps another confirmation of the fundamental character of the twofold structure.

Clan Organization

614 There are 12 clans among the Winnebago with the following names

A. *Waŋgerεgi herera* (those who are above):[1]

1. *wakandja*, thunderbird.
2. *wonaγira waŋkcik*, war-people.
3. *tcazeep*, eagle.
4. *rutcge*, pigeon (extinct).

B. *manεgi herera* (those who are on earth):

5. *hunte*, bear.
6. *cuŋktcuŋk'*, wolf.
7. *waktcεxi*, water spirit.
8. *tce*, deer.
9. *hu'wa'*, elk.

[1] All the clans of the upper phratry are also called *skaxaxa*, "Those-with-wings." This name is found in ceremonies.

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614 According to the majority of our informants only one of these classifications seems to be generally present in the minds of the Winnebago to-day—that commemorating incidents relating to the origin of each clan. Thus, for instance, because the first thunder-bird alit on a tree the name *He-who-alights-on-a-tree* is given; because a wave swept over the shore as the wolf arrived at Green Bay the name *Wave* is given, etc. However, the most representative names of this type are *Gives-forth-fruit-as-he-walks*, *Makes-the-day-tremble*, *He-who-comes-singing*, *Judge-of-the-contest*, etc. The vast majority of the names, although many of them can doubtless be interpreted as referring to incidents that occurred during the various origins of the clan, clearly belong to the first seven divisions mentioned above. Yet the Winnebago interpret them all in terms of category VIII.

As an example of the Winnebago viewpoint let me give the following:[1]

614 ●773 *Four men* [the clan eponymous ancestors] *Earth-Maker sent here from above; and when they came, all their various characteristics were used for making proper names. Thus at the present day, the characteristics of the thunder-birds, all of their actions, are used as proper names. (At the beginning), four men came from above. And from that fact there is a name, He-who-comes-from-Above. . . From above, four men Earth-Maker sent down. And since they came like spirits, there is a name, Spirit-Men. . . And as there was a drizzling fog when the four men came from above, so there are names, Walking-in-Mist, Comes-in-Mist, and a woman they would call, Drizzling-Rain-Woman. It is said that when they first came to Dévlk, they alit upon some brushes, and bent them down; and from this fact there is a name, He-who-bends-the-Brushes. On the limb of an oak-tree that stood there, they alit; and they bent it down as they alit on its branches. From this there is a name, She-who-bends-the-Branches-down. And since they alit on the tree, there is a name, He-who-alights-on-a-Tree; . . . and from the tree itself there is the name, Oak-Woman. . . And because they stepped from the oak-tree to the ground, . . . there is a name, He-who-alights-on-the-Ground. . . And since they came with the thunder-birds, there is a name, Thunder-bird . . . and White-Thunder-bird . . . and Black-Thunder-bird . . . And since the thunder-birds thunder, there is a name, He-who-thunders . . . And since they make the noise ᵗᵉʳᵘᵖ, people are called He-who-makes-Tᵉʳᵘᵖ . . . When the thunder-birds walk, rain accompanies them; and from this fact we have a name, He-who-walks-with-Rain . . . And since the thunder-birds romp walking, we have a name, Walking-Thunder; and since the thunder-birds walk with a mighty tread when they start out, there is a name, He-who-comes-walking-with-a-Mighty-Tread; . . . and since the earth shakes when they commence walking, there is a name, He-who-shakes-the-earth-with-force . . . And since there is always wind and hail when the thunder-birds come, we have a name, He-who-comes-with-Wind-and-Hail. Now, since one of the thunder-birds came first, there is a name, He-who-walks-First; and since one of them was the leader, therefore, there is the name Thunder-bird-Leader . . . Now since the thunder-birds flash (their eyes) in every direction, so we have the name Flashes-in-every-Direction . . . Now, we don't see the thunder-birds, but we see their flashes only; and thus there is a female name, Only-a-flash-of-Lightning-Woman; and since the thunder-birds (flash) streaks of lightning, there is a name, Streak-of-Lightning; and since cloudiness is caused by the thunder-birds*

[1] "Personal Reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian," by P. Radin, Journal of American Folklore, vol. 26, no. 101, pp. 293-318.

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walking in the clouds, there is a name, *He-who-walks-in-the-Clouds*. Now since the thunder-birds have long wings, there is a name, *He-who-has-Long-Wings* . . . Now when the thunder-birds come, they come with terrible thunder-crashes, it is said; and as many people as there are on this earth, . . . and as many plants as there are on the earth, indeed, everything, the earth itself, they deluge with rain, and thunder-crashes (are heard); for all this they have a name; they call him *Waruʤiŋga*.

The point at issue in this interpretation of names is can we accept it as historically primary? We do not think so, for the following reasons: A large number of the names are clearly descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, and others refer to personal achievements, etc. Secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretation are present. As a matter of fact in the above quotation, our informant distinctly mentions the fact that the characteristics of thunderbirds were used for names, although he insists that the names referred specifically to the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan. According to J. O. Dorsey the interpretations obtained by him were largely symbolical. He makes no mention of the interpretation obtained by the author, although this may be due to the fact that he was but imperfectly acquainted with Winnebago ethnology. It seems best, therefore, to regard the ancestor-episode type of name as but one, perhaps the last, that developed among the Winnebago.[9]

ATTITUDE TOWARD CLAN ANIMALS

When the animal names became associated with the social groups they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude exhibited toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived of as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of

[9] For fuller discussion cf. P. Radin, The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, Museum Bulletin 56, Anthropological Series 5, Geological Survey of Canada, 1914.

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the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the priestly esoteric interpretation. 000 614 825 [114]

The prevalent conception of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal transformed at the origin of the present human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and the general statements of individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristics of the animal of the latter was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although the animals have lost this to-day, they are nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human and now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation. Among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete as compared with the same powers of primordial "beings." This conception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded as at all flavoring of a philosophy developed after contact with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions upon the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and in the lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and as applied to those animals that were brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor. [773]

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a development of this older Winnebago idea of the origin

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614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its
614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war
778 bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
[776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
● [773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the
[771] Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[582] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

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CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—SPECIFIC CLANS

The Thunderbird Clan

Introduction

The Thunderbird clan was unquestionably the most important of all the Winnebago clans. In numbers it seems to have equaled the three other clans of its phratry, and, since the upper phratry had about as many individuals as the lower phratry, the Thunderbird clan must have comprised about one-fourth of the entire tribe. How are we to explain this? Historical data are, of course, missing, so that any explanation reached is entirely hypothetical, but still it seems justifiable to hazard some interpretation. The most plausible hypothesis is to assume that the Winnebago were originally organized on a village basis and that the largest of these villages and the earliest to adopt the clan organization were those that took the thunderbird as their totem.

In the origin myths, the origin of the Thunderbird clan is always given as Green Bay, and in contradistinction to the accounts of other clans, the ancestors of the clan are supposed to have originated at Green Bay and not to have traveled there from some other place. How much credence is to be given to such a localization it is hard to say, but assuredly it should not be dismissed as entirely worthless.

The origin myths of the Thunderbird clan possess some interesting features which deserve a few words of comment. In the first version we have an account of the creation of the world which is almost identical with that given in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance (p. 350). None of the other clan origin myths contain it. How are we to explain this? As a secondary accretion or as an original and archaic feature? On internal evidence we suspect that it is a secondary accretion and that the original version began with the second paragraph. There seems to be no intelligible reason for having Earthmaker create two sets of individuals. If we suppose that the original version began with the second paragraph and that the general account of the creation was subsequently added, we would have a satisfactory explanation of this feature. Only one of the three versions obtained contains this general ac-

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614 count of creation, and thus we have another reason for doubting
T73 its age.
114 There are other indications of an assimilation with the general origin myth in our versions, such as the absence of animals on the earth and the ascription of certain geographical features to the activity of the thunderbirds. Throughout, however, we are always confronted with the possibility that we may be dealing with an old village origin myth. There seems to be no doubt but that the episode of the origin of death, so distinct from that given in the general origin myth, is archaic. Other features, on the other hand, like the description of the origin of fire, are clearly reflections of certain possessions always associated with the Thunderbird clan.

A perusal of the following versions and the versions of the other clan origin myths indicates clearly how personal the accounts are. The members of the Thunderbird clan, as we shall subsequently show for the members of the other clans too, make claims of power and importance for their clans that are hardly justified by what we know of their actual power. As sources of information, therefore, we must be extremely cautious in our use of these origin myths.

Before leaving this subject it might be well to point out the number of different explanations given in these myths of the relations of the members of the clan to their eponymous clan ancestor. If a Winnebago were asked what this relation was he would answer offhand that the members of the different clans were descended from certain spirit-thunderbirds who were transformed into human beings at Green Bay.

In the first version the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan are created by Earthmaker and brought down to earth by the four spirit-thunderbirds the first Earthmaker had created. They are apparently human beings and not heroic birds, as most of the members of the clan assure you. To complicate the situation we have even the mention of the fact that the second set of people who came to visit them were members of the Thunderbird clan.

In the second version we have the customary identification of the ancestors of this clan with birds. At the end of this version we have the distinct statement, which is, however, clearly not part of the myth but an explanation by the informant, that the members of the clan call themselves thunderbirds because they, like the true thunderbirds, caused a drizzling rain and fog when they went about.

It is only in the myth of the origin of the Warrior clan that we have what can be interpreted as an account identical with that given offhand by the Winnebago. Here we are told that the warriors or hawks when they entered the lodge at Green Bay began to look different and that their feathers were worn off.

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From these facts it is quite clear that, as far as the Thunderbird clan is concerned, the prevailing belief as to the relation of the members of the clan to the clan ancestor is but feebly substantiated by the origin myths.

As mentioned before, the chief of the tribe was selected from the Thunderbird clan, although the selection was apparently restricted to certain families. The functions of the chief of the tribe were connected with peace. He could not lead a war party, although, according to some, he could accompany one. His lodge stood either in the center of the village or at the south end, according to which of the two descriptions one cares to accept, and contained a sacred fireplace, around which only members of the Thunderbird clan could sit. This lodge was an asylum for all wrongdoers. No one could be killed there, and a prisoner who succeeded in making his escape to it was spared. Even a dog destined for a sacrifice at the war-bundle feast was freed if he took refuge in it. The Thunderbird chief always acted as intercessor between wrongdoers and their avengers. Even in so extreme a case as the murder of a clansman, he would always attempt a reconciliation by which the life of the murderer might be spared. If necessary, the chief would mortify himself, and with skewers inserted in his back have himself led through the village to the home of the nearest kinspeople of the murdered person.

The chief seems to have had some other miscellaneous functions, the most important of which was, perhaps, his right to prevent an unauthorized war party to depart from the village. If he, as an older man and guardian of peace and the best interests of the tribe, felt that a war party was taking too many risks, he would take his pipe and place it across the path of the one contemplating an unwarranted expedition and thus signify his disapproval. If then the war party chose to go, any mishap was directly chargeable to the leader who disobeyed. Should anyone be killed, the leader was regarded almost in the same light as a willful murderer, and the kinsmen of the deceased warrior could demand redress.

Our main informant for the Thunderbird clan summarized the functions as follows:

> The chief is chosen from one of the "greater" Thunderbird clans[1] and must be a man of well balanced temper, not easily provoked, and of good habits. The one sacred object he possesses is his pipe. He must be a peacemaker and love all the people in the tribe, the little children included.
>
> If he saw a man, woman, or child passing by, he was to call them in and give them food to eat, for they were his brothers and sisters. All the relatives he has are to look after his possessions and keep him well supplied, for he was supposed to give away things constantly. If any person came to borrow some object from him, he would tell

[1] Undivided the Thunderbird clans into two groups, the real Thunderbird and the Warrior clans. This latter is indeed was identical with the thunderbirds who caused the rain and who were quite different from the other thunderbirds.

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they gave one another. Thus they have the names *White-hair, Fast-one, Little-white-teeth, Diffident-one, Horn, Pronged-horn*, etc.; and for dogs they have names also. That is the way the deer people lived in the beginning at Red Banks, Within Lake. Bands of people gathered together there, and all the clans that exist now originated there.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

The Deer clan people came up at the beginning of the earth. Only one is spoken of as appearing at the beginning. He started forth but returned again that he might look for a companion. For that reason a name exists in the tribe, *He-who-comes-back*, and another is *He-who-appears-first*. After they had appeared on earth the deer blew on the original fire, which was only smoldering, and made it blaze up. For that reason they claim a partial chieftainship. The first one that appeared had a chief's medal around his neck.

CLAN SONG.

I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions
I use the cries of the four directions.
I use the cries of the four directions.

CLAN NAMES

TCA HIK'IK'ARADJERA (DEER CLAN)

Tcasephûnk'a.....Black deer chief.
Wagizena°p'i°ga.....Wears shells around neck.
Tcanûnka°pi°wings.....Deer vagina.
Mank'ingay°pga.....Appears in the middle of earth
Tcatcosiwinga.....First deer woman.

The Elk Clan

INTRODUCTION

In the Elk clan origin myth we find the clear statement that Earth-maker created the ancestors of the clan, and that they were human beings. The myth resembles a village origin myth more than it does a clan origin myth.

The Elk clan seems to have had certain functions relative to the distribution of fire through the village and in camp. It was never a very large clan.

The Elk people claim half of the fire, and thus half of the chieftainship. They never hold fire toward any one.

Elks are buried by the Snake, Water-spirit, and Eagle clans, although the first has the preference.

White clay is used in painting the dead.

According to another informant, the facial painting consisted of white and blue dots on the face (pl. 46).

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[776] created everything with the definite purpose of benefiting mankind in contrast to the creative acts of the old Trickster. It is very instructive to notice how he gradually usurped the place formerly held by the older spirit-deities and clan ancestors. In the clan origin myths there are a number of versions where he directs certain spirit animals, the ancestors of the clan, to go down to earth, while in other apparently older versions nothing is said of him.

Sun. The sun is known to the Winnebago generally as *haⁿhuira*, orb of day, and ceremonially as *haⁿhoradjera*, day-wanderer. He does not occupy to-day the position he formerly held. There are a number of indications that seem to point to the fact that his worship diminished when that of Earthmaker began to assert itself. Many of his functions and powers were likewise taken over by the Thunderbirds, who, although they distinctly belong to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, have yet assumed their present importance apparently in connection with the development of the Earthmaker belief.

● [773] The sun is occasionally spoken of in myths, but rarely as a culture hero. In only one myth collected was he the hero of the myth. There he appears as the husband of the moon and as an anthropomorphic being who possesses an all-powerful disk (the sun).

[782] Offerings are frequently made to him, but he rarely blesses an individual. In other words, he is not a true guardian spirit. He only blesses men and upon them he always confers success in war.

Moon. The moon, like the sun, probably formerly occupied a more important place in the Winnebago pantheon. She is a female deity and blesses women, although, like the sun, she is not a true guardian spirit.

Earth. Earth, like the moon, is a female deity. She is one of the oldest deities of the Winnebago and appears as the grandmother in some of the oldest myth cycles, like that of the hare. Offerings are [782] made to her at the various ceremonies, particularly at the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts. She never appears as a guardian spirit.

[756] The earth is one of the deities who has received considerable reinterpretation at the hands of the shamans. In the myths she is a purely folk-mythological figure in no way interested in furthering the welfare of mankind. On the contrary, she is spoken of as the sister of those bad spirits who are bent on destroying the human race. Her rôle as a beneficent deity probably developed in connection with that of the hare, her grandchild, according to the old folklore notions, transformed when he became associated with the founding of the medicine dance or its older Winnebago predecessor from a typical trickster to an heroic animal deity.

Morning Star.—This is one of the spirits belonging to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, who apparently was not displaced by

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776 is but a faint survival of former times. The older myths are full of references to the evil spirits, and the cosmological myths represent
[773] the world as infested with evil spirits who are on the point of exterminating the human race until the culture heroes come to the rescue. It would almost seem as if, from a purely matter-of-fact point of view, these early culture heroes had destroyed all the evil spirits. Certainly they are not regarded as of great consequence, for if they were we ought to find a certain number of prayers addressed to them asking them not to harm anyone. They seem to be mere logies, personifications of fear, and that is perhaps why they are so intimately connected with darkness.

812 At the present time the vast majority of Winnebago ascribe evil, in so far as they explain it at all, to three causes—either to some
[668 failure on their part to perform a rite in the prescribed way, to
782] the fact that they have not invoked the spirits for protection (i. e., attempted to pass through life without the aid of the spirits), or to the evil machinations of other men. Often one derives the impression that they accept evil and do not try to explain it. It seems to be a trait characteristic of the Winnebago, and perhaps characteristic of other North American tribes, that explanations are developed for the positive aspects of things. Certainly it would require some thought on the part of a Winnebago to explain why a war party that had, in the opinion of the chief, all the necessary requirements for victory, should nevertheless be defeated. He would doubtless find some reason, after a while, but it would be an afterthought and would probably vary from individual to individual. In some cases lack of success would be ascribed to the fact that an individual had been misled by an evil spirit, but this is clearly a secondary explanation because the individual, when questioned, would admit that he had no way of telling whether this was so until he had failed in something. We base this statement on an actual instance.

776 There is some evidence to show that there may have originally existed among the Winnebago a belief that the spirits were neither good nor bad; that they could be either at different times. In two notable instances, that of Disease-giver and Water-spirit, this is true at the present time. The former deity is the only one to whom prayers are addressed beseeching him not to present to man his death-dealing side.

In the myths we find a definite incarnation of evil in the case of
[192] a spirit called *Herregu'nina*. The meaning of this word as given by a Winnebago, and which seems to be justified, is "he whose existence is doubtful." If this is an old Winnebago word it would confirm the view advanced above, that the Winnebago were not very much concerned about the evil spirits. There is, however, a possibility
[177] that *Herregu'nina* is, in part, a post-Columbian development due

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to Christian influence. The one place where he plays an important rôle, the myth of the twins, shows definite indications of European influence. The only thing that militates against such an assumption is the fact that there does not seem to be any particular reason why the existence of a chief evil spirit should have been doubted, even if we were to grant that Christian influence extended the belief. The French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a very definite idea of the devil and made it a point to tell the Indians that all their former habits were due to deceptions the devil had practiced upon them. To-day such an answer is the first that a Christianized Winnebago or a member of the new Peyote cult will give an ethnologist. Perhaps, after all, it is a very old Winnebago conception, a confirmation of the view promulgated before, that in former times the Winnebago had a very definite conception of evil spirits taking an active part in the affairs of man to his detriment. The figure of *Hereegu'nina* is well defined and it would be ridiculous, in our opinion, to believe that the shamans would have done anything to develop it. We have clear indications of what the shamans were trying to do with this conception. They were attempting to bring it into some relation with the concept of Earthmaker, a beneficent All-Father, and to do so they were even willing to claim that *Hereegu'nina* was the first attempt of Earthmaker to create a spirit; that Earthmaker was dissatisfied with his work and threw it away; that then *Hereegu'nina* watched Earthmaker create spirits and imitated him, the evil spirits representing these imitations. The shamans, we should expect, would have done all in their power to lessen the importance of *Hereegu'nina*, even to deny his existence, and, in this connection, it may be of significance that one Winnebago interpreted his name to mean, "He-who-seems-to-exist-but-who-does-not."

Whatever the case may be, this much is clear, that in the twin myth he is represented as a deity as powerful as Earthmaker, whom Earthmaker can not destroy; upon whom the twins play jokes but whom they cannot really harm.

The concept of disease.—Disease is rarely ascribed to the spirits. Like lack of success, it is regarded as a fact of existence, and when it is explained it is believed to be due either to the carelessness of man in trying to pass through life without the aid of the spirits or to the evil machinations of other men.

The deity known as Disease-giver is the one exception to the rule that the Winnebago spirits do not directly cause disease, for he is sometimes described as scattering death broadcast over the earth.

The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.—Death is rarely, if ever, ascribed to the spirits. It likewise is a fact of existence and,

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159 775 539 of a lively kind all the time. From that place we went up to the place where Earthmaker lived and there I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too, and, indeed, I was like one of them.

From that place I came to this earth again for the third time, and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

774 775 *The concept of the soul.* This concept is not clearly developed as a separate entity among the Winnebago on account of their strong belief in reincarnation. Their notion of the soul is merged in that of the noncorporeal ghost who eventully comes to earth again.

THE COSMOLOGICAL IDEAS

772 773 The cosmological ideas are of two types those that are clearly of a folkloristic origin and those that have been developed by shamanistic reinterpretations. To the former class belong all the creative acts of the tricksters and culture heroes, like *Wak'djuṗk'aga* and Hare, and to the latter the systematic creation of the world by Earthmaker.

What is probably the oldest form of the Winnebago cosmological notions is that concerned with the general destruction of the bad spirits by Hare and by such spirits as the Thunderbirds, Morning Star, etc., and the removal of obstacles. Often the present characteristics of the earth are formed accidentally, as, for instance, the origin of the valleys, mountains, and lakes, as given in the myth of "Holy One." Even in the thoroughly remodeled general origin myth, Earthmaker is not conceived of as having purposely created the world.

772 The Winnebago believed that there were four worlds, one beneath the other, presided over, respectively, by Earthmaker, Trickster (*Wak'djuṗk'aga*), Turtle, and Hare. Hare rules over the world on which man lives. There seems to be some confusion as to who rules over the last earth, because it is also definitely stated that Traveler (a Water-spirit) is in control of it.

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 614 796 841

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them. [776 688]

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these chickens and make the general preparations. 796 614

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is their night, and then they go to sleep. [825]

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken. [773]

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. [782]

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 796 614 537 372

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CHAPTER XIV

THE MEDICINE DANCE

(Pls. 48, 49)

Origin Myth

● 773 What it was our father sat on when he came to consciousness is uncertain. Then his tears flowed and he began to cry. Not long did he think. He saw nothing and nothing was there anywhere. He took something from the seat on which he was sitting and made a portion of our earth.

Then he sent the earth below him. From where he sat and as he looked at his own creation, it became similar to our earth. However, nothing grew upon it and it was entirely without a covering. It had not become quiet but was spinning around.

Suddenly he thought, "If I do this, it will become quiet." Then he made a covering (hair) for it. He took a weed from his seat to make grass for the earth and earthward he sent it. That he did and then looked at his own creation. It was not quiet but still kept on turning. "This way I will do again," he thought. He took a tree and toward the earth he sent it and again looked at his creation, but still it kept spinning around. Then he sent four men, brothers, and placed one in the east, one in the west, one in the south, and one in the north, and again looked at his creation. It was, however, still spinning around. "Perhaps it will become quiet in the following way," he thought. So he made four of what are called water-spirits and below the earth he placed them, and for that reason they are called island-weights. Then he scattered a female spirit over the earth, by which stones are meant. Finally he looked at his creation and he saw that the earth had become quiet.

He had sent the stones clear through the earth, throughout its extent, and only the heads remained uncovered. He looked at his creation and saw that it had become quiet. No clouds appeared anywhere, the light of day appearing motionless, and the vibrations of heat seemed to be like spider webs going past, floating.

All the birds that were to roam over the sky, all the quadrupeds that were to be on this earth and those called subterranean animals, he placed in houses that he had made for them and scattered here and there. Then he made all those insects that were destined to live on the earth. Finally, at the end of his thinking he made us,

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the human beings. However, we were not even equal in strength to a fly. We were the weakest of all. Then he looked at what he had created and he liked it and sat filled with happy thoughts. 773

He was proud of us and gazed again on what he had created. He had, however, not made the human beings equal in strength to the others and they were on the point of being destroyed. Then he formed a human being, like ourselves, and when he had finished him, he named him the Foolish-One. "Foolish-One, to the earth you are to go. Weakly (pitiable), in every respect, I made the human beings. I made them as my last thought. Now this creation of mine, they, the evil spirits, are likely to injure, so do you, O Foolish-One, go and put things in order." 773 776

Then he sent him to the earth, but when he came on earth he did not do what he had been told. He went around the earth and accomplished nothing. (As useless) as a child crawling on all fours he was. He really amounted to nothing. Though sent by Earthmaker, he amounted to nothing. He did no good and injured the creation of Earthmaker, so Earthmaker took him back and had him sit at the right of his own seat.

Then he made another (man) and when he was finished called him the Turtle. "The two-legged walkers (human beings) whom I created as the last of my thoughts, (evil spirits) are about to exterminate Do you go and put the earth in order." Turtle went and (took along) a knife that he had been given. When he came on earth he led people on the warpath, but he did not look after the (welfare) of (Earthmaker's) creation. Earthmaker therefore took back the second man, too, and placed him on his left side.

Then he made a third (man), and when he finished him, he named him Bladder, and said, "You are to go to the earth. As my last thought, I created the two-legged walkers and they were pitiful in every way. They are now about to be exterminated and you are to rescue them. Try with all your strength."

When he came on earth he made a long lodge and created twenty men. That many younger brothers he had. Then they all started to go around this entire island and all the younger brothers were killed. Thus he failed in his mission. The work his father had sent him to do, he failed in, so (Earthmaker) took him back and placed him on his left side.

Then he made a fourth (man) and when he finished he named him He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings.

Then he made the last one, Hare, his body just like ours. "You are the last one I am going to create, so try with all your strength, Hare, try." He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings, the fourth one, failed. He therefore took him back. Hare was the last that Earthmaker, our father, wished to create. He (had created) him entirely by the force of his thoughts.

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T73 T76 "Hare, what I am doing, you also will be able to accomplish. Try with all your power. If (the evil spirits) injure my creation, it will not be good on earth, life will not be good." Thus he encouraged him; thus he spoke to him. "Try and overcome these (evil spirits)."

So Hare was sent to the earth, and when he came on earth he said to himself, "My brothers acted in a (certain) way and failed." Hare had come up to a certain oval lodge and from this (same) house came a young woman with a little pail. She was going toward the river. "Now they (Foolish-One, etc.), were not able to do (what I am going to do)," he said. There he entered the body of the young woman in order to become a human being. There he sat in the abdomen (of the young woman), yet he heard their (human being's) cry.

He heard them crying. "My father sent me to give them advice, and here, for so very long a time, I have been sitting." Crying, shrieking, he heard them (the human beings). "So long have I been sitting here that (the evil spirits) will in the end destroy them." Seven months had he been waiting when he spoke thus. Finally, when the proper time had elapsed, he went out through an opening. Not four days after, the woman died.

He always left the house in which they lived, at night, and would roam around. Whenever he walked inside the house he would reflect much light. As soon as daylight appeared he became quiet, it is said. As soon as the sun went down, he went out. He traveled all around the earth, for its entire extent, and just before sunrise returned and became quiet. Throughout the day he sat thinking of all the work he was to do.

For the third time he again started out, at sunset, and traveled over half the extent of the earth, and all the bad spirits that were growing wild he put an end to. "Not again will they (the bad spirits) live; not for a second time will they kill any of my uncles or aunts." Just before daylight appeared, he went toward the house, and as he approached it, his heart felt good. Then he entered the house and all day he sat there wrapped in thought.

When the sun went down he went out and over to the very edge of the earth, as large as it is, he roamed, and all the bad spirits that exist he killed. Just about daylight he went up into the heavens and bang! he pursued all the bad birds that were living there and driving them together in the west, he killed them all. Very early in the morning he went to the house thinking pleasant thoughts. "The work my father sent me to do I have accomplished. The life of my uncles and aunts will now be like mine, from now on." Thus he thought as he entered the house.

"Well, Grandmother, the work my father sent me to do, I have accomplished. He sent me to look after his creation and all that I have accomplished. My uncles' and aunts' lives will hereafter be the

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same as my own." "But, Grandson, how can your uncles' lives be the same as yours? It is not so. The (world) is as our father created it. Not different can it be made." "The old woman must be related to them and therefore does not like it that I killed (the evil spirits)." "No, Grandson, our father has ordained thay my body (the earth) should fall in two. Lest they should cause a shortage in food (by overpopulation) he ordained that there should be death, otherwise they would crowd each other too much on earth. So, therefore, he arranged that they have a place to die." 773 776

Hare didn't like it. "Surely, Grandmother does not like it because she was related to them. She is taking their (evil spirits) part." Thus he thought. "No, Grandson, that is not so. Your heart, at present, feels sore. Your uncles and aunts will obtain enough of life; they will live to a normal old age," she told him. "Now, Grandson, get up. Your uncles and aunts will follow you. Try with all your strength (to do what I am going to tell you). You are a man, so do not look back."

Around (the earth) they started. "Not to look back," grandmother said. "I wonder why she said it." Thus he thought. So he looked back just the least bit to his left. The place he had started from caved in instantaneously. "O my! O my! A man I thought you were, a person of prominence, and I had encouraged you very much. But now, Grandson, decay, death can, in no way, be taken back." That is what she meant, it is said.

Around (the earth) they went and to the edge of the fire (that encircles the earth) they traveled, it is said. They united it (the fire) so that they (the uncles and aunts) would attain old age, so she said.

"To look back, she forbade me. But I have already made up my mind (as to the immortality of my uncles and aunts). When they become like me, then only will I be happy. Such is my thought." Then he went out and there, where the sun rises, to the east, he went and entered the house. Opposite the occupants he sat himself. What he had come for (the occupants) knew, it is said, "Well, Hare, there is nothing I can say to you. If the one ahead has anything he wishes to say to you, he will undoubtedly do so." Then he (Hare) greeted him and went out.

Toward the west he traveled. Even then not any (other) thought he had. "I can do it," he thought on the way. When he arrived at the house he entered and sat himself opposite the (occupant). "Hare, what you have come for, I know, I believe, but I will not tell you anything. The one ahead, he it is that can tell you, he it is." So he (Hare) saluted him and went out.

Toward the house of the fourth one, in the south, he went and entered, and sat himself opposite (the occupant). "Hare, what you

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773 776 have come for, I know, but if even those ahead could not say anything to you, how can I, the very last, say anything?"

Then he saluted him and went out in the same way that he went in. He started for his house and came there crying, it is said. "My aunts and uncles must not die!" "To all things death will come," he thought. Then he cast his thoughts upon the precipices and they began to fall, to crumble. Upon the rocks he cast his thoughts and they crumbled. Under the earth he cast his thoughts and all beings that were living under the earth stopped moving and their limbs stiffened (in death).

Up above also he cast his thoughts and the birds began to fall down (dead).

Then when he entered the house he took his blanket and wrapping himself in it, lay down crying, it is said. "Not the entire earth will suffice for us," he thought, "and in some places there will not even be enough earth."

After a while the news reached our father. "To utterly destroy us they will try" (the people were saying). That Hare was not feeling well, was the news that reached him. Then he (Earthmaker) said to the first man he had created, "Hare is not feeling well and you are to go after him." Toward the earth he came. "Hare, I have come here to fetch you." But he did not answer him and he did not even move his blanket. So the man (Foolish-One) returned. Then he (Earthmaker) said to the second one, "Hare you are to go after and bring him back here. Try very hard to (accomplish) it, for he is not feeling well." When he arrived there (he said), "Hare, I have come after you to take you back." But Hare did not even (answer). When he returned, he said, "Hare did not say anything." (Then to the third one he said), "Hare you are to go after, for he is not feeling well." When he came (to where Hare was, he said), "Hare, I have come after you, to take you home." But Hare did not even answer him. Hare was indeed not feeling well.

Then he (Earthmaker) told the fourth one, "You are to go after Hare. Be sure and bring him. Be sure and bring him. Try with all your strength." "No matter how hard it is, I will bring him" (said the fourth one). He started out and when he came to Hare (he said), "Indeed, for a very long time has your heart been sad, Hare. But let us go home now. Get up!" Then he took him back, it is said, to Earthmaker he took him. But not to Earthmaker's house did he take him, but to that opposite where the chief of the Thunderbirds lived. At his side, there they placed him. In front of the Thunderbird chief's (house) there was a mound and also a little war club painted red on one side. Thunderbird chief took the little war club and holding it lightly, shook it gently. So great

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was the noise (it made) that Hare got frightened and almost ran out, it is said. Then they freed him from the sad thoughts he had had on earth and restored his spirits. 773 776

Soon after that they took him to Earthmaker and (when) he had come there (Earthmaker said), "Hare, your heart must have been very sad. Indeed, for your uncles it was, that your heart felt sad. Now that their lives may be benefited, a holy teaching you are to take back to them. "Here, look at it," he said, and pointed toward the south. There a long lodge stood (revealed). At this he looked and there were old people with hair all white. "Thus your uncles and aunts will be. They will make very much noise (in this ceremony). Now look down! Some help is to be given them. Not one bad spirit will I put there." Then he (Earthmaker) pointed in that direction and said, "You are to go back there (to earth) and put this (ceremony) before them. Not alone are you to do it, but with the aid of your own friends, Foolish-One, Turtle, Bladder, and He-who-wears-heads-as-earrings." These he meant. "Your grandmother (the earth) will help you and if one of your uncles and aunts performs everything properly he will have more than one life. I will always keep the door (through which he may return to earth) open to him. When he becomes reincarnated he can live wherever he wishes. He can return (to the earth) as a human being or he can join the different bands of spirits, or finally he can become (a being) below the earth." All this he (Earthmaker) did for us.

Then Hare returned to the earth and to his grandmother. "What I have tried to obtain for my uncles and aunts, that now I have brought back with me." "Grandson, how was it possible for you to make them immortal like ourselves? As the world was created, so must it remain." "Grandmother, I say that my uncles will choose their lives for themselves, and grandmother, you are to help me." "All right, grandson, it is good," she said, thanking him. "When the time comes, my friend the Foolish-One will come," he thought. Then he struck his drum and [illegible] the songs. All of a sudden, Foolish-One came in. "That you would come, my friend, I thought, and thus you have come." "Indeed, my friend, I knew your thoughts and, for that reason, I came." Then they went out together and outside of the village they sat and discussed what they were to do. This is what they were doing. All day they discussed on the outskirts of the village. When they came to the house they entered it and sat down. "My friend Turtle will come," he (Hare) thought. Then Turtle did come. "My friend, I knew you would come, and for that reason, you have come." "Yes, indeed, your thought I know, and for that reason I have come." Soon Bladder came. He (Hare) thought he would come and for that reason he came. Then Hare centered his thoughts on He-who-wears-heads-as-earrings, and he also came.

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773 776 Their grandmother listened to them quietly, but she could not understand them. Then (after a while) Hare said, "Grandmother, what I have been trying to obtain for my uncles I have succeeded (in accomplishing). You are now going to hear of it. Come here toward the fireplace and sit down and you will hear of it. (I know) that you are anxious to help them, Grandmother." "Indeed, grandson, it is good," she said, and got up. Then she took her work and sat down near the five of them and laid her hands upon their heads. In front of her nephew, Hare, she placed her work. "If you get this for them (i. e., the medicine dance) your uncles will live well. This way they are to do forever," she said. In front of him she put her work and said, "For this thing, indeed, I thank our father." Thus she said and went back and sat down. "Grandson, what the nature of my help for you was to be, you asked? Well, look at me, grandson. For your uncles and your aunts, our father had me bring the following. I have for them that with which they will always be able to ask for life." Then she opened that part of her body where her heart was situated and very green leaves were to be seen, like an ear in shape. It was as white as a blossom. Then she opened her breast on the right side and said, "Grandson, look at me." Then unexpectedly corn was visible. "For your uncles and aunts, our father let me bring corn." A stalk became visible whose leaves were very green and whose tassels were white. These were the ears of corn that we were to eat.

Then the five of them got up and Hare said, "Our grandmother, let us greet." So they walked up and laid their hands upon her head. Then they greeted her and went around again. "It is good, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said you were to help them. You were going to help us, grandmother," I said. "You may now fix your breast."

Then he went out, proceeding toward the east, and when he got there he stopped. Then he turned toward the west. Grandmother closed her breast and entered the house. "Well, grandson, I have done it." "It is good, grandmother," said Hare. Then he went out, and when he got to the door he stopped there and thought, "This is the way it will be." And where he stood, eight yellow female snakes he threw. They became the side-poles of the lodge. Their heads he turned toward the east, and their tails he turned toward the west. The strings he used with which to tie them were rattlesnakes. The doorway was made of a black female and a male snake, the latter placed at the right. At the rear end of the house, in the west, he also made doors of blue female snakes. Then he took a reed-grass, which he had brought with him, under whose covering we were to live, and threw it over the lodge and the lodge was wrapped in it entirely. Then he took another piece of reed-

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grass and inside the house, at the right side, he threw it and it became white mats spread out. Then he threw a bear-skin hide in the house on the right side, and it extended along the length of the lodge. Then he made a white deer-hide extend along the entire length of the lodge, on the right side. A door he made of a real living mountain lion. This he did in order to prevent bad spirits from entering. At the door, on the west side, he placed a buffalo bull, and when this all was completed, he looked inside the lodge and then he heard these animals bellowing and roaring, it is said. Inside of the lodge, it was light.

Then he started for the lodge, first going for his friends. "Well, my friends, I am through; the house I have finished. Grandmother, stand up, for we are going to follow." He walked behind and when they came to the door, the fear-inspiring lion snapped his teeth, as he stood there. Then they went in and walked around the lodge until they came to the place where they had entered and they sat down. Then Hare sent a number of public criers, a bear and a wolf, to traverse the entire length of the earth. Along with them were sent the winged messengers, the common crow and the shrieking crow.

When the animals that had started first returned, their bodies were old and devoid of hair, and they supported themselves on staffs. When the birds who had gone returned, their wings were worn out, their eyebrows lapped over their eyes, and they looked very old indeed. They came in front of Hare's seat and said to him, "Your uncles and aunts, when they speak of you, will speak of you forever in praise. We have placed many life-giving objects within the lodge." "Well, my friends, it is good. This is what I meant. I thank you in the name of my uncles and aunts."

Then all the messengers who had been above on the earth, etc., all of them came. The four very first men he had created also came. They all stood at the door ready to enter. The oldest one started in, but he turned back, being afraid of the animals within. Three of them were afraid and therefore failed to enter. Then the youngest opened the door for them and led them in. After he entered, they, in turn, walked around the lodge, and when they got to the door, Hare placed the eldest one there and said, "My elder brother, this is your seat, the east one." Then he walked around again and at the north end he stopped and made the second one sit down. Then he walked around and, stopping in the west, made the third one sit there. Then, finally, he put the fourth one in the south seat, and went to his own seat and sat down.

Now all the other spirits began to enter the lodge. Then the first people came in and four were made to sit in the east and four were made to sit with each of the four seats. The people were of the

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the people were of the
Bird clan, the Bear clan, the Wolf clan, and the Snake clan. The fourth one was the one they were to teach, to initiate.

Then Hare got up and spoke as follows: "My friends, I have had you come together, for my uncles and aunts had been living a most pitiable life. You are to teach them the life they are to live and which they are to hand down from generation to generation. That is what I ask of you. What I want, you have heard. I leave everything to be done and said by those in the east."

Then he, the one in the east, arose and spoke, "Our friends, the uncles and aunts of the Hare, we are to teach the meaning of life, so that they may hand it down from one generation to the other. Only today, for the first time, have we discussed this thing for them. Life (all that life consists of—wealth, honor, and happiness) they shall have from now on." The four of them said, "What the one ahead said (we say)." When they finished, they returned.

Now Hare got up again and said, "My friends, that is what I wished for my uncles and aunts. This council-lodge I made for them, and as long as they follow the precepts taught in the creation-lodge they will be invulnerable. For that reason this seat has been made for them, that whosoever desires may sit therein."

All day long the spirits taught him, and when the sun was on the treetops, when it was time to stop, the spirits dispersed, taking with them as they went half the light within the lodge. They rubbed against the door-poles as they went out. They pushed them in deeply so they would not fall.

Then Hare spoke, "Grandmother, I will be sitting ready for any one of my uncles and aunts who will perform this ceremony that we have taught them well. With tears my uncles and aunts will come to me and my heart will feel sore. I will go above and sit down and if any person performs this ceremony that we taught him well, then he will be as I am, if you will but look at me, grandmother. Look at my body, grandmother." And behold, like a very small boy he was. "If any one repeats what we have done here, this is the way he will appear."

"Look at me," Hare said for the second time; "Look at me!" There he stood a full-grown man. Then, for the third time, he said, "Grandmother, look at me." There he stood a man in middle age; his hair was interspersed half-and-half with gray. Then she looked at him for the fourth time, and his hair was covered as if by a swan (i. e., it was all white), and he leaned tremblingly on his staff, standing in the east. "Well, grandmother, if any of my uncles and aunts performs this ceremony properly this way they will live."

"It is good, grandson. However, not only your uncles but your aunts, likewise, will be that way if any of the latter performs the ceremony properly. "Look at me," she said, and when he looked at

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her, there stood a very young woman, her hair like a shawl. "It is good, grandmother, and I thank you in the name of my aunts. Then for the second time she said, "Look at me." He looked at her and there stood a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. "Well, grandmother, it is good, that is what I meant." Then for the fourth time she said, "Grandson, look at me." He looked at her. Her hair was entirely dried up, in the nape of her neck there was a hollow, and like a duck looking at the sun, she appeared. Her chin, like a wooden poker, burnt short, there she stood trembling. "Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts that is what I wished for them, and I thank you."

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Organization of the Bands

The medicine dance of the Winnebago consists of five bands. A sixth band is temporarily formed whenever the ceremony is given in honor of a deceased member.

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For purposes of description it will be best to divide each band into three parts—the leader, his two assistants, and the rest of the band. Leadership depends upon a thorough knowledge of the ceremony and its complete esoteric significance, which is in the possession of only a few individuals in each band. This knowledge can be obtained solely by purchase and religious qualifications. These religious qualifications, to which might be added moral as well, play little part at the present day, but there can be no doubt that they were essential in the past. The leader likewise often possessed other characteristics, such as those of warrior and shaman.

The two assistants were generally men who had purchased sufficient information and privileges to entitle them to help the leader in certain details of the ceremony. The drummers, rattle holders, dancers, etc., were always recruited from their ranks. Eventually they might become the leaders. Those who were neither leaders nor assistants possessed a knowledge varying from that of elementary information, required for admission, to that entitling them to the position of assistant.

There is a priority of position in the lodge, depending on priority of invitation. The band invited first occupies the east position; that invited second, the north; that invited third, the west; and that invited fourth, the south. The east is the position of highest honor; the south, that of the lowest. Between the bands there exists an order of invitation based on tradition, the exact nature of which is unknown. According to one informant, if one band invited another, the latter in turn would be obliged to give it the position of honor; but as there are five bands, this can apply only to special cases. Whatever may be the order, it is certain that each band has ample occasion to occupy all five positions.

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generally lasts from dawn preceding the day ceremony until 7 or 8 a. m. The intermission begins as soon as the drum and gourds have been returned to the ancestor host and ends as soon as the people return from the brush ritual. 756 796

The first and second parts are concerned entirely with a recital of certain ritualistic myths and a rehearsal of the songs and the specific ritual of each band used during the remaining parts.

Types and component elements of the ceremony. For purposes of greater clarity, the speeches, songs, and types of action will be carefully differentiated and referred to by some designation characterizing their essential traits. These speeches, songs, and types of action together form combinations which may be regarded as units, and they will therefore also be referred to by some designation characteristic of their function.

1. Types of speeches. (1) Salutations: No formal salutation is used during Parts I and II, the individuals being addressed by their relationship terms. In Parts III, IV and V the salutations are invariably the same. The ancestor host and his band are addressed as follows: "The-one-occupying-the-seat-of-a-relative (deceased) and you-who-sit-with-him, do I salute." The east is addressed, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-rises"; the north, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-cold-comes-from"; the west, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-straightens," or (preferably) "You-who-represent-the-end-of-the-road." 756 796 537 576

The appellations of the bands, as before stated, refer to the creation myth and the four guardian spirits whom Hare visited for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity and meaning of death. Hare was compelled to travel around the earth, which is conceived of as an island, and received no answer until he came to the spirit at the end of the road. In the dramatic performance of the medicine dance the lodge typifies the earth and the four bands and their leaders typify the four spirits. The ancestor host's band typifies the ancestor of the Winnebago. 773 756 796 621 [772]

(2) Speeches: Under this head will be treated (*a*) speeches of welcome; (*b*) speeches of acceptation; (*c*) speeches of presentation; (*d*) speeches explanatory of the significance of the ritual; and (*e*) speeches of admonition, addressed exclusively to the candidate. This does not exhaust all. There are many others, generally short, that can hardly be classified. In their content, as well as in the order of their succession, the speeches must follow a traditionally determined sequence. In practice this is certainly not always true, but to the mind of the Winnebago these speeches appear as old as the ceremony. It is their firm belief that any departure from the accepted type will interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony. 796 537 756

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159 ancestors told their descendants, as it has passed down from mouth
156 to mouth to us, that whosoever pays careful attention to all that pertains to this ceremony, that whosoever has a good memory, he is the one to whom it should be taught. Thus they spoke.

"My son, you alone have been good to me," he said. "This ceremony you will learn. Our son, He-who-stands-on-a-cloud, and you have been kind to me. Both of you will live a long life. Never divide this ceremony in two. Never keep anything separate, but do, the two of you, counsel about everything. If one of you knows anything, tell it to the other. Two people are necessary to make the ceremony truly efficacious for either one. Never dislike one another.

"My younger brother, you are going to be a chief. No one else pays attention to this ceremony. You alone are doing it. If at any time I should leave your presence, when I am about to go I know that you, oh my son and brother, I will leave behind me, peacefully traveling along. Thus I will think as I am about to depart. Thus my ancestors told me."

Thus in trying to obtain information I made myself pitiable. I tried to be blessed. I performed all kinds of work. Even woman's work I did. Thus I kept myself in a pitiable condition, and for that reason my brother-in-law blessed me. He blessed me with the ceremony of his ancestors. He told it to no one else but to me; and if anyone else, at the present time, narrates the ceremony as told by our band, he is not telling you the truth. Up to the present time this ceremony was an Indian ceremony, and not a second time will I tell it to a member of the white race.

This ceremony molded me. I paid the most careful attention to it; I worshiped it in the best way I knew how. I was careful about everything in my life. I never drank. A holy life it was that I sought and most earnestly did I pray that I might live over again. That is what I yearned for. If I do everything that this ceremony enjoins upon me well, I will return to Earthmaker, they told me. This is what I wished. I was doing well as a medicine man and everyone loved me. This ceremony was made with love.

I know all the songs. Indeed, the leader of the dance would make me sing the songs for him. As many medicine men as there were, they all liked me. I was not overbearing, but modestly did I comport myself right along. All the medicine men told me that I was doing very well, and they offered thanks in my behalf.

2. J. C.'s account of how he came to join the medicine dance: This
● [113] is how it was. A grandmother of mine was the cause of it. She said that the Creator's son[a] was called the Hare; that he came on earth and brought life, she said. She said that whoever did this would live well, that their souls would always return to the place where the

[a] J. C. is a prominent member of the Peyote cult and, in common with other members of this cult, he has identified the Hare with Christ.

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Creator sits. The first thing that they did to me was this: They took me to a lodge at night; there they talked and sang. Then the second night the tobacco bundles were made; then the great old medicine men were given tobacco. After this came the four nights' preparation. Then came the great medicine dance. Then they went after those that were going to join, one at a time. They, the medicine men, were repeating what the Hare had done. When the Hare came on earth he performed certain actions, and that is what they were repeating now. Hare had visited the different spirits, it is said, looking for a means of life, it is said. The old medicine men possessed the good tidings that Hare had brought to this earth. That is what the people desired of Hare, it is said. 159 756

When they entered, the first person to whom tobacco had been given, i. e., the one first invited, entered first. Then the others followed in turn. Then he talked; then the one who initiated me expressed his thanks, saying, "You medicine men, this affair the Hare has given you, you are repeating in order to bless us. For that reason you have come. We ask you to give to this person whom we are about to initiate the life you have obtained for us. We ask that the newly initiated one travel along that road."

Then the first person spoke, and after that they all ate. When he was through they heated a stone. After that they all entered in regular order and I was asked to go in with them. Thus I entered the sweat-bath lodge. When I was inside they told me that the stone which they had heated was a spirit. "The life that he brought I should ask for," they told me. After that we went out again.

At night we entered again. Then at about 2 o'clock they took me out to the brush. Not until then was I to learn what the medicine men really did. When we got to the brush they made me sit down and the man who was initiating me turned me over to the others. He said, "I turn him over to you. Whatever the elders have taught you, that we desire you to tell him." When he finished the first one began to talk, saying, "It is good that you are such a person. Earthmaker must have willed it so. In the olden times if a person wanted to join the medicine lodge he could not do it until he was quite old." Then he continued preaching to me. When Earthmaker first came into the world and what happened after that, how he created all things: that he told me. He told me that Earthmaker created four worlds, in each of which he placed men and women; that the heavens we see represent the last man he created and the earth we are living on the last woman he created. Then he told how *Hereguniks* was created. The story is as follows: Earthmaker created man, whom he wished to put at the head of the world, but he did not make one of his legs quite right. Then he threw him down to the earth because when Earthmaker made anything wrong 159 756 881 868 [773]

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159 he never did it over again. *Hereguninu* lived on earth from that
756 time on, and it is said that he also created things. Indeed, it is said
881 that he was almost the equal of the Earthmaker. He made the people
868 very miserable. Then Earthmaker sent four of his sons (to save the
●773 people). Hare alone, of all the four, accomplished what he had been sent out for. All the rest failed. Hare obtained life for the people upon this earth.

Then the man told how the medicine lodge had been founded: how all the spirits upon the earth and all those under the earth and all those above the earth gathered together. They brought life with them. Then the medicine bags began to come. First came the eagle. He came from above. Next came the hawk, and then the squirrel, etc. The otter was the last one. Then the old man stopped talking to me and another person began to admonish me. He told me how I was to conduct myself. Then he spoke to me of the medicine-lodge road (i. e., of life) and what happens after life.

159 The first thing that I would meet on the road would be bad birds
756 making a lot of noise. "Do not look at them," he told me. They
868 would let fly at me bad-smelling saliva and phlegm, but I was not
775 to turn around, he said. Then the road would become thickly covered with thorn bushes. It would seem almost impossible to untangle them. I was, however, not to pay any attention to them, he told me. On the road, fires would send their sparks toward me, but I was to pay no attention to them. After a while I would lose one of my relatives, but I was to keep right on. I was not to get angry nor to give up, and after a while the road would become thickly covered with poplars growing on each side. Then the hair on my temples would become gray. This is what would happen to me, he told me, if I paid close attention to this ceremony. After a while it would become foggy (i. e., my eyesight would grow dim. Then I would come to a hill, one of four hills. When I come to the last hill there I would see red cedar trees. This is what would happen to me if I paid close attention to this ceremony, he told me. My soul would return to Earthmaker and I would then be allowed to come back to this earth if I wanted to.

159 Then they gave me the object with which they shot themselves
756 the shell. They shot me. After that they made me try to do it,
776 and when I was able to shoot well, we all came back. It was now
881 daylight. Now they put clothes on themselves and arose. Those who were initiating me then spread upon the ground the things which had been brought. Then the leader spoke. He told me that he would put me on the medicine-dance road. Then they sat me down there and shot me. Then the clothes that I had on were taken off and I was given other clothes. I was now told that I was standing on the medicine-dance road. After that they danced all day. In the evening they stopped. Now this is what I did; this is all I can say. I greet you, my friends.

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What the Converts Introduced

798 177 It is quite impossible to establish now what these converts introduced individually. For that matter it is not necessary to assume that they brought any specific additions to the cult. What they did bring were Winnebago; and with that, the emotional and cultural setting of the old pagan background. To one, the eating of the peyote gave the same magical powers that were formerly associated with membership in the medicine dance; to another, the visions were direct blessings from God, directing him to perform certain actions; to a third, faithfulness to the teachings of the Peyote cult became associated with a certainty of reaching God, of being able to take the right road in the journey to the spirit land. Even a man so thoroughly saturated with Christian doctrines as Hensley himself felt it necessary to introduce an origin myth; and although we know that he borrowed it from a southern tribe, it is quite clear that in Hensley's narrative it has already assumed all the characteristics of a Winnebago fasting experience and ritualistic myth, similar to those connected with the founders of the old Winnebago cult societies. In its totality the atmosphere of the Peyote cult became thus charged with the old Winnebago background. In 1911 it can not be said that they had displaced the distinctive Christian elements. Among the younger members, especially those who had been trained in the east and could read and write English, the influence of the Christian ideas in the interpretation of the old pagan features is, as was pointed out before, so strong to-day that it threatens to displace the others.

The following homily will show how the old myths were used by the younger Peyote members to point a tale.

794 773 The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coon-skin blanket around himself and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere, and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds.

[381 829] So do we Winnebagoes act. We dance and make a lot of noise, but in the end, we accomplish nothing.

Once, as the Trickster was going toward a creek, he saw a man standing on the other side, dressed in a black suit, and pointing his finger at him. He spoke to the man but the latter would not answer. Then he spoke again and again, but without receiving any reply. Finally he got angry and said, "See here! I can do that too." He put on the black coat and pointed his finger across the creek. Thus both of them stood all day. Toward evening, when he looked around again, he noticed that the man across the creek, pointing his finger at him, was really just a tree stump. "O my! what have I been doing all

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this time? Why did I not look before I began? No wonder the people call me the Foolish One." 794 773

So are we Winnebagoes. We never look before we act. We do everything without thinking. We think we know all about it.

The Trickster was walking around with a pack on his back. As he walked along, someone called to him. "Say, we want you to sing." "All right," said he. "I am carrying songs in my pack, and if you wish to dance, build a large lodge for me with a small hole at the end for an entrance." When it was finished, they all went in, and the Trickster followed them. Those who had spoken to him were birds. He told them that while dancing they were not to open their eyes, for if they did their eyes would become red. Whenever a fat bird passed the Trickster he would choke it to death, and if it cried out, he would say, "That's it! That's it! Give a whoop!"

After a while one of the birds got somewhat suspicious and opened its eyes just the least little bit. He saw that the Trickster was choking all the birds. "He is killing us all," said the bird. "Let all who can run for their lives." Then he flew out through the top of the house. The Trickster took the birds he had killed and roasted them; but he did not get a chance to eat them, for they were taken away from him by somebody.

So are we Winnebagoes. We like all that is forbidden. We say that we like the medicine dance; we say that it is good and yet we keep it secret and forbid people to witness it. We tell members of the dance not to speak about it until the world shall come to an end. They are afraid to speak of it. We, the Winnebago, are the birds, and the Trickster is satan.

Once, as the Trickster was going along the road, some one spoke to him. He listened, and he heard it say, "If anyone eats me all bad things will come out of him." Then the trickster went up to the one talking, and said, "What is your name?" "My name is 'Blows-himself-away.'" The Trickster would not believe it; so he ate it. After a while, he blew himself away. He laughed. "Oh, pshaw! I suppose this is what it meant." As he went along it grew worse and worse, and it was only after the greatest hardship that he succeeded in returning home.

So are we Winnebagoes. We travel on this earth all our lives, and then when one of us tastes something that makes him unconscious we look upon this thing with suspicion when he regains consciousness.

The Attitude of the Conservatives

At every phase of the cult's development Rave had to contend with the hostility of the conservative members of the tribe. It would be interesting to know in what manner and degree this hostility mani- 794 578

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when he appears to an individual. The Thunderbirds are conceived of theoretically as birds, but always appear to human beings in human shape. As it is believed by the shaman that the spirits are a *tertium quid*, neither animal nor man, but possessing infinite powers of transformation now into the one, now into the other, it is rather difficult to indicate their precise nature except in this negative way. For the ordinary individual doubtless their anthropomorphic nature stands out most prominently. 776

According to shamanistic cosmology, although the greater spirits are given control of various powers, still, in general, each spirit is given control of some specific power. The shamanistic account goes on to say that, upon the creation of man, Earthmaker, realizing that he had no powers to bestow upon him, decided to give him at least the means of obtaining those powers he had given the spirits and presented him with tobacco, telling him that if he offered it in the proper manner the spirits would feel constrained to accept it and give him, in exchange, whatever powers they possessed. The popular account of the origin of tobacco was quite different. However, it was on the shamanistic theory that offerings were made. The arrangement between the spirits and man was in the nature of a contract, with this peculiarity, that the spirits did not have to accept the offerings. The prayers are generally couched in this manner: "If you, the spirits, accept my offerings, then grant me your blessings or a continuance of those my ancestors received." They were, however, theoretically always left the alternative of refusing. In practice it was not believed that the spirits exercised their prerogative of refusal, but that in certain cases the offerings were not made in the proper fashion. The moment the tobacco was accepted, the blessing followed of itself, almost without the will of the spirit. This purely mechanical relation between acceptance of the tobacco and bestowal of power comes out excellently in one of the myths. The Winnebago are sacrificing to the Buffalo Spirits and the smoke of their tobacco offering is ascending to the spirit-land where the Buffalo Spirits dwell. The chief of the spirits warns the younger ones not to approach too closely to the ascending fumes, for they are but spirits and the desire for tobacco might get the better of their discretion and induce them to accept it. If they do, they are lost, for they will then have to go down to the earth and be killed. No power they possess, nor any power the chief possesses, can save them. This "mechanical" explanation seems to me quite significant, for it probably embodies the older point of view and the point of view of the less enlightened Winnebago. As such, it is to be contrasted with the later shamanistic development with its contract and the shifting of the spirit's rôle from one of passive acceptance to that of a spirit-deity who withholds his approbation unless the offering is properly made. [773] [782] [773]

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Earthmaker has all the characteristics of a supreme deity. He is conceived of as formless and as never being visible to man. He is a benevolent deity, but apart from the interest he manifested in creating the world and all that exists upon it and in sending the great Transformer heroes, Trickster, Turtle, and Hare, he has taken little active interest in the affairs of humankind. It is only as a tour de force that one can receive blessings from him. An instance of the kind will be found on page 291,[6] which is to be taken not as a myth but as, at most, a true fasting experience, which has been cast into a literary form. [776] [787]

The conception of Earthmaker we have been discussing is found most prominently developed in the rituals and the ritualistic myths. In how far it represents an exoteric point of view it would be difficult to determine now. A study of the nonritualistic myths, however, makes it seem plausible that Earthmaker, among the people in general, was the vague Waxõp'į'nį Xe'tera, Great Spirit, typical of the woodland area; and what appears to strengthen this view is the fact that there exists, side by side with him, that other great spirit common among the woodland peoples, the Great Bad Spirit, known among the Winnebago as Hereregū'nįŋa, of doubtful etymology. The coexistence of these two spirits and their equal rank comes out clearly in the cycle of the Twins. The ritualistic myths have attempted to interpret this old Hereregū'nįŋa as Earthmaker's first attempt to create man, which ended in failure. He thereupon threw him away, but Hereregū'nįŋa imitated the creations of the former and thus brought into existence the many evil spirits that infest the earth. [773]

Only in the older traditions is this conception of the dual deities still to be found. In practical life the more systematic conception developed in the rituals has entirely displaced it, just as the older conception of the Transformers as heroes working in obedience to no one and changing the world until it assumed its present appearance out of mere whim, has given place to a well-ordered creation in which the Transformers play the rôle of deities saving the human race at the command of Earthmaker.

Thunderbirds (Wak'a'ndja). They are always represented as appearing to men as bald-headed individuals wearing a wreath made of the branches of the arbor vitæ. They are in control of almost all the powers that man can imagine, but they generally bless him with success on the warpath and with a long and honorable life. They are represented as having a spirit village in the west and as intermarrying with the Night Spirits who have a village in the east. Powerful shamans and warriors not infrequently claim that they are merely reincarnated Thunderbirds. Such is the claim of the man who is [775]

[6] Cf. also Jour. Amer. Folklore, vol. 26, pp. 293 314, 1913.

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Host's offering to Earthmaker.—"Hearken, Father who dwells above,[28] all things you have created. Yet if we would make an offering of tobacco you would accept it with thankfulness" (you said). So it has been said. I am about to offer a handful of tobacco and a buckskin for moccasins with it and a white-haired animal[29] to be cooked so that (you may have) a holy feast. These things I turn over to you. If you accept them, the first thing I wish to ask for will be (the honor of) killing (an enemy) outright, of leading warpaths, and of obtaining life honors.[30] That is what we would like to lead (i. e., a war party). That is what I would ask of you. My relatives, as many as are sitting around here, even that many ask the same things of you."

Host's offering to the Thunderbirds.—"Those in the west, our grandfather, Thunderbird Chief, you blessed grandfather, and I am now going to offer you a handful of tobacco. With thanks you will accept it (it has been said). Buckskin for moccasins, also, I am sending over to you. A feast made from one whom we regard as one of yourselves, whose body we are like.[31] I am sending along for you. Indeed a sacred feast I am offering you; that I am now sending toward you. As many of our clan members as are here, they (all) desire to make these requests: To kill an enemy outright, to lead a war party, and—O grant it to us!—a life honor. Life, that is what I pray for to you—that we ask of you. Our clan has put itself in a pitiable condition,[32] so that we may live a good life. That we ask of you."

Host's offering to the Night Spirits.—"You who live in the east, you who walk in darkness, you directed your minds toward grandfather, and for that I will pour tobacco for you, now and forever, so that you may bless me. A handful of tobacco, if we pour for you, we know it will make you thankful, and for that reason do I offer you some. A buckskin for moccasins and, together with it, a sacred feast that I am about to send toward you. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that I and all my clansmen who are here ask of you. This request, that one of us lead the war party you

[28] No Christian influence is to be suspected in this term of address.

[29] According to shamanistic cosmology, Earthmaker first created all the various spirits and bestowed upon each one of them certain powers. When finally he created man he noticed that he had nothing left to give him, so he decided to give him tobacco. This was to remain his exclusive possession, and not even he, Earthmaker, would be able to take it away from him. It was finally agreed that man would offer it to Earthmaker and the other spirits and receive in return thunder sportive blessings.

[30] Ritualistic name for deer.

[31] "Killing an enemy outright" means killing him in the midst of his own people and without the assistance of anyone else. It was the highest war honor that a Winnebago could obtain and entitled him to wear an eagle feather in his hair. "Life honors" always refer to war honors.

[32] The whole phrase from "ražéra'ųp" to "rášk'in hîk'ihîsî-k-ášjara," in the ritualistic expression for dog. The dog is referred to as "like one of ourselves" in deference to the fact that one of the clans is called wolf or dog. Thus in offering up the dog they wish to imply that they are offering up themselves.

[33] I. e., a condition which calls for pity.

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The War-bundle Feast of the Thunderbird Clan

(SECOND VERSION)

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

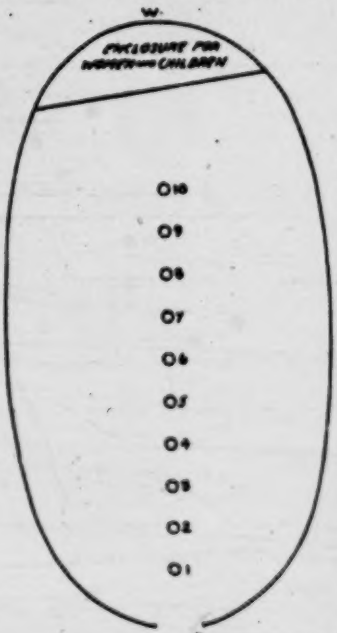

FIG. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for dive-over-giver. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for herbs.

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buckskins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks. Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits. When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

[1] This is a generalized account.

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tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000 odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodland of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which they (Winnebago) were found scattered not long after Nicollet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other, contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

The question of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the gentle organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village setting off (to the minds of the people) one group against another. Systematic questioning has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or were descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known under similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *kozo-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'uhą'tcira*, "those living below," i.e., in the timber; *niwą'hatcira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hutcxedegominaŋgera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may, then, suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization, whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. The only hint of such a relation is the fact that formerly *koni* "band" seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjera;* that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake-band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other

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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgereĝi* would be on the south and the two for the *maŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huŋk'wohą*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huŋk'wohą*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk'* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgereĝi* division.

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgereĝi* are always pitted against the *maŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgereĝi* and *maŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgereĝi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the

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Clans are likewise referred to by names indicative of respect. Thus, the Water-spirit is referred to as *hunge*, male members of the Bear clan as *haga*, and female members of the same clan as *warowiṇa*. It was claimed that these names were employed to avoid using the others. *Degoni* (meaning unknown, perhaps "lake-people") was also applied to the Bear; and *iconaŋke* (meaning unknown) to the Wolf.

Referring to the two village diagrams, we notice that according to Figure 1, four clans have their lodges definitely located—the Thunderbird, Warrior, Buffalo, and Bear; but that according to Figure 2 only two clans have definite location of lodges—the Thunderbird, and Bear. In addition there is, however, a special lodge for the men who have especially distinguished themselves in war, not necessarily to be identified with the members of the Warrior clan. The significance of the clan names has been discussed before.

The meaning of *iconaŋke* is unknown to-day, but it may be of interest as an example of the manner in which the name of a clan may possibly be reinterpreted that, when pressed for a meaning, *iconaŋke* was translated blue-back, which is a literal translation of *ico* and *naŋke*, but which unquestionably represents a folk etymology, for, according to Winnebago grammar, *blue-back* would have to be *naŋke ico*.

Legendary Grouping of Clans.

According to many clan legends, the clans originated in a definite order. As might be expected, this differs according to each clan, but the order of origin of the important ones seems to be constant. That is, practically all clan origin myths speak of the bird-clans as having originated first, and the Bear clan as having followed next. Yet even this did not hold true for all informants.

J., of the Bear clan, gave the following list:

Good Thunders (Thunderbird)
Bad Thunders (Warrior)
Eagle
Pigeon
Bear

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Wolf
Water-spirit (?)
Buffalo
Deer
Elk
Snake

The same order was given by a number of other informants. In the Bear clan legend the order is water-spirit, birds, bears, and in practically all the versions of the Bear clan legends the bear always finds the footprints of the wolf, which would indicate that the latter had preceded him. Nevertheless, in the versions of the Wolf clan myth, the bear footprints are found by the Wolf people, and, strangely enough, in the same version the Wolf people are represented as the last clan, whereas in another version of the myth they are represented as being the first clan. In still another myth, the Water-spirit is represented as first, etc. [174] These discrepancies can be explained in only one way, one that was to be expected, namely, that each clan tried to augment its own importance by insisting that it was one of the first, if not the first, to have originated. About one thing all seem to be agreed—that the Snake clan was the last. The Fish clan is rarely mentioned and, in general, appears to be a very late addition.

174 It is thus clear that no historical importance can be attached to the order of the clans. More significance must, however, 614 be attached to the statements that certain clans have originated at special places. Thus, while the majority trace their origin 773 to Green bay, the members of the Warrior and Buffalo clan claim certain lakes far to the south of Green bay as their original home. Here the literary tendency to associate the origin of the clans with a lake of a definite character makes any discussion practically futile. It is, of course, quite plain that the tribe as a unit, localized in a definite place, did not adopt animal names for their various clans, but that a type of name gradually spread over all the local groups. One of these local groups may have become associated with a definite place of origin. Perhaps the association of Green bay as the place of origin is precisely such an instance. The local associations of the Warrior and Buffalo clans can also be taken as suggestive of an historical past. That the prevalent association of Green bay as the

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origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others.

Arrangement of Clans in Village.

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *waŋgeregi* division except the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *maŋegi* division except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped on the *waŋgeregi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness.

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans, but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and

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part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the determination of this relationship, data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and also in the fact that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the esoteric interpretation.

The most prevalent view of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal, transformed at the origin of the human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and reflects the general conversation with individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristic of the animal of the heroic age was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although he has lost this to-day, he is nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human, now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation, and among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete, as compared

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with the same powers of the primordial "beings." This conception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded as at all flavouring of a philosophy, developed after contact with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions as to the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and also in lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and those animals which are brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor.

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a transformation of this Winnebago idea of the origin of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a religious one, whereas the former is merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being merely descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. Descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit, and is far older than its specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating example of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The Winter Feast has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result, we find descent from the thunderbird and night spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the connexion of an individual of the heroic age with a village. Here the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter, and marries into the village, becoming the ancestor of the subsequent village group.

At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, for this seems to be a peculiarity of

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individual cultures. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest Coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves we find, in addition to the above, the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact that its members imitate the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reason at all for the name, while according to others an animal is killed and becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, the group taking its name from this fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

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The Clan Tie.

In intimate relation to the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the bond between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is brought out by the word for clan (*hokikʻaradjɔra*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and that of the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcakʻɔro*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason is assigned at all. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a general but a very definite notion, and may be said not to extend beyond four generations, in fact, not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual.

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ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, disease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen.

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all these he created and placed in control of powers. Even the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he placed us in control of. He further told us that none of the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

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search there and you will undoubt-
edly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that we could cure ourselves from disease.

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the future and it is good for people to look forward to their future.

Say, you w[illegible] to obtain the paint medicine. For that you

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§20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the year. We used to sell the hindquarters and sometimes ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was that if any one hunted longer than that he would be arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I always wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[24] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People liked me very much on account of my long hair and I was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild

[24] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occasionally, blessing an individual.

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3. MYTHOLOGY

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Running through the whole of Winnebago mythology-literature, is the distinction between two types of narrative, the worak and the waikā. The first, literally translated, means *what-is-recounted*, and the second *what-is-sacred*. The worak belongs to the realm of what is regarded as true and humanly possible and attainable, as pertaining to the present workaday world as we know it. The hero must be a human being and the plot must end tragically. The waikā, on the other hand, belongs to the past that is irretrievably gone, to the realm of things no longer possible or attainable by man. It pertains to the world of spirits and deities, to the world of wish fulfillment. The hero must be a divine personage and immortal and the end can never be tragic. A waikā can become a worak by the simple device of bringing the plot into relationship with the contemporary human scene. The divine being has then become, for the time being, a human one. But there is no tragic *dénouement*. A worak, however, can never become a waikā.

As an example of the change from waikā to worak, let me take the cycle concerning the favorite heroes of the Winnebago, the Twins. Their adventures constitute real happenings and not, what one might have supposed far-off divine events, for one simple reason, namely, their resting-place is on earth and they, and this resting-place, have actually been seen by the fathers of present-day Indians.

It seems to have been one of the persistent endeavors of those Winnebago who reflected on such matters, to emphasize not only the distinctions mentioned above but, likewise, for them to link together the various adventures of their more important heroes into reasonably well-integrated epics, each one possessing its own developmental scheme. There are four such major cycles, that of Trickster, that of Hare, that of the battles of the good deities against the evil ones, and that of the Twins.

The theme of the Trickster epic is the unconscious, yet purposive, evolution of the hero from a grotesque, chaotic figure knowing neither good nor evil, to one with the lineaments of man. He symbolizes the gradual evolution from irresponsibility to responsibility.

Where Trickster stops Hare begins. He is a combination of a trickster and a culture-hero. His benefactions, for instance, are all accidental. But from the start, he possesses the lineaments of a human being and his orientation is toward man. He is no longer the supreme egoist that Trickster was. At the end of his adventures the earth has been transformed into a place where human beings can live and operate. 105 538 773

It is the function of the heroes of the third cycle to prevent this order which Hare has established from being again disrupted and returning to chaos. The function of the Twins is to continue the struggles of the heroes of the third cycle and to attempt to stabilize this order for all time.

Now although the theme of all these epics is the struggle against chaos and the introduction of order, each one of the great heroes of the last three epics, attempts to disrupt the order he has himself established. Hare brings death into the universe, Storms-as-he-walks, one of the heroes of the third cycle, kills wantonly and unnecessarily and the Twins kill one of the deities who hold our earth in place. In the case of the Twins it is important to stress the fact that, as we shall see, their attack on the world order is the result of exuberance of energy which is, in itself, constructive.

This same theme of the necessity for intelligent order and the establishment of stability runs, like a guiding thread, through the Origin Myth given on pages 17 ff. and pages 252 ff. There, the first problem of Earthmaker after he has, so to say, given himself a fixed orientation in the universe at large and brought about order within himself, is to stop the earth he has created from continuing its ceaseless motion. This he achieves by anchoring it at the four cardinal points and then weighing it down by means of vegetation and mountains. The anchorage, significantly enough, is brought about by pinning the island-earth down by four waterspirits and four snakes. Now snakes are the specifically sacred animals of the Winnebago, the intermediaries between the deities and man. Waterspirits, on the other hand, are, essentially, the most productively evil and dangerous of all the deities for man, fascinating him, confusing him, and placing in his hands the means for his own destruction and the destruction [825] [776]

1 [Not processed. - Analyst]

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105 538 773 776 of his fellowmen. By giving to the waterspirits the positive and constructive function of helping to stop the earth from spinning around and then holding it in place, part of their primary and ancient danger has thus been neutralized. Yet it can, at best—in fact, it must—only be neutralized. To destroy it completely would be equivalent to saying that man has ceased to err, overcome all temptation and become one of the deities. Such a condition, the Winnebago insist, neither the deities nor man desire.

According to the esoteric view, the ambivalent but fundamentally evil and disruptive nature of the blessings of the waterspirit have never ceased. It is one of the subtle and symbolic features of the final adventure of the Twins, namely, the destruction of one of the waterspirits, the anchorers of the earth, that they are, after all, only doing in a human fashion what Earthmaker himself found it necessary to do, prevent the waterspirits from harming man. They kill the waterspirit and feed on its body. They do not understand that disruption and disintegration represent one half of the process of living and can, at best, be neutralized and delayed, never eliminated and destroyed. It is the symbol for motion and change without which life not only ceases to exist but is indeed inconceivable. Earthmaker, of course, recognizes this and he must, therefore, put a stop to the activities of the Twins and he punishes them. Their punishment is a symbol for the error they have committed. They became fixed, motionless and permanent, both of them traits that, according to Winnebago beliefs, are forms of death. In the puberty vision-quest one of the signs that foreshadows death is to dream of rocks or stones.

I cannot think of a closer parallel to what has here happened to the waterspirits than that of the transformation, in the Oresteia of Aeschylus, of the Furies into beneficent creatures.

But to continue with the Origin Myth. Having created order within himself and established it for the stage on which man is to play, Earthmaker proceeds to create the first beings who are to people the universe, the spirits and deities. To each one he assigns a fixed and specific amount of power, to some more, to some less. In a nature religion like that of the Winnebago, this is, of course, only another way of giving the objects and forces of nature their

various attributes. A definite gradation of power is thus established with no one spirit possessing powers even measurably comparable to those which Earthmaker has reserved for himself. 105 538 773

This principle of gradation and subordination is part of the order that Earthmaker is represented as introducing into the universe so that it can advantageously function. The instant it is changed there is danger and the threat of disruption. This is the theme of the first part of the Twin cycle, for instance. The plot is clear. The hero, one of the eight great Winnebago deities, Morning Star, has been decapitated by his enemy, a waterspirit. The body of the hero still remains alive and is being taken care of by his sister. The waterspirit, by keeping the head of Morning Star, has added the latter's power to his own. So formidable is this combination of powers that none of the deities, individually or in combination, are a match for him now. In fact only Earthmaker is his equal. Here is a threat of the first magnitude to the order ordained by Earthmaker and it must be met lest destruction overtake the world. Manifestly, the only manner of coping with the situation is to find some hero who can conquer the waterspirit, deprive him of the head of Morning Star and restore it to its owner.

But where is such a hero to be found? Nowhere. Consequently he must be newly created. This can be accomplished either by Earthmaker creating him directly as he has already done others or by his being born of some spirit. The days of special creation, however, are over. He must, therefore, be born as all creatures are now born, divine or human. But how can it be arranged that the hero, so born, has the requisite powers to achieve victory? The answer must be by such a hero being endowed for the task with enough power by all the deities, including Earthmaker.

This is accordingly done and these powers which will make its possessor greater than all the deities in existence and the equal of Earthmaker are delivered to the Sun with instructions that he impregnate the sister of Morning Star. The children born of Sun and the sister of Morning Star, who is herself a deity, are the Twins. They vanquish the waterspirit and restore the head of their uncle to his body. Thus the original order ordained by Earthmaker has been

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reestablished. Earthmaker, however, faced with the necessity of reestablishing it, has laid the seeds for further disruption by contravening the basic principle of limited and graded powers. The danger entering in such an act makes itself felt immediately; for the Twins, after completing their proper mission of destroying whatever evil spirits still exist on earth, or at least neutralizing them, destroy, as we have seen, one of the foundations of the earth. They do so in conformity with the Winnebago realistic conception that the possession of power necessitates its exercise.

Earthmaker, however, has no powers, within himself, to stop them. If, in the end, he does succeed, it is by a device which, on first blush, must strike us as puerile yet which is actually quite profound. He frightens them. The unafraid are made to be afraid, something that comes from within themselves. They try to hide and seek shelter, without success because, of course, they cannot hide from themselves. Finally, in desperation, they flee for protection to Earthmaker. This is, of course, what he is seeking. The moment they are in his possession and have come as suppliants, he has gained contact with them and thereby attained ascendancy over them. He can then speak to them and point out the nature of their transgression as well as its dangers. They recognize both and acquiesce cheerfully in the punishment meted out. Thus, for the time being, order and responsibility have again been reestablished in their rights.

We have so far dealt with the problem of order and disorder in its general, cosmological aspects. We must now take it up in its relation to man.

It is only after the spirits and deities have been created and endowed with the powers they are to have that Earthmaker, according to the Origin Myth, creates man. As the Winnebago say this happened at the end of Earthmaker's thoughts. Man is thus in the position of the orphan of Winnebago story: he possesses nothing. Earthmaker has nothing to give him. Accordingly, man is both weak and defenseless.

This depiction of man as completely unprovided for the vicissitudes of life, has a number of important implications. First of all, it is a well-recognized literary device, indeed almost a *cliché*, to have

the last and least qualified of the personages in a myth or tale, become the true hero. Secondly, it is the cardinal ethical principle of the Winnebago that the lowly shall be raised to high estate. That is the reward for humility. Thirdly, a hero or a virtuous man must show a development, must bring about order within himself. We have seen that hold true for Trickster, for Hare and for Earthmaker himself.

In both versions of the Origin Myth, man is projected naked into an atmosphere over which he has no control whatsoever and where he is immediately attacked by evil spirits. This is in flat contradiction with the accounts of his original state in the exoteric myths. There he is almost immediately placed in possession of tobacco, the intermediary between man and the deities, as well as of flint, corn, etc.

If this is not mentioned in the Origin Myth that is because he is not to save himself or receive the wherewithal of life through the accidental benefactions of culture-heroes. On the contrary, he is to be in dire straits and saved. Earthmaker is represented as withholding tobacco from the spirits in order to present it to man and as endowing these same spirits with an overpowering craving for it. In short, it is to be the mechanism for an exchange between man and the deities. He will give them tobacco; they will give him powers to meet life and overcome obstacles. Yet the deities cannot, by themselves, save him. They are at strife with one another. This can only be done by Earthmaker. For this purpose he dispatches the great primordial culture-heroes, Trickster, Bladder, Turtle and Hare to the earth.

This is a completely new role for all three. Naturally they do not succeed. They cannot be saviours. Their antecedents are against them. Trickster is the supreme egoist, the chaotic buffoon hero, a kind of Priapus, without any sense of responsibility and without purpose as far as man is concerned. His most positive contribution is to point out the stupidity, the cupidity, the vanities and foibles of creatures. He cannot help anyone. With man he has never had any connection. Turtle is not much better. He is the embodiment of cowardice, braggadocio and unabashed sensualism. The best he can do is to participate in warfare and, then, never as a hero.

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If Hare succeeds, it is because all his antecedents fit him better for the task. In the original Hare cycle he is born of a human woman and brought up by grandmother Earth herself. Although, at the beginning, his benefactions to mankind are all accidental, they do, at the end, give man the complete quota of his needs. It was comparatively easy to transform him into a hero without blemish. His one fault is demanding too much for man.

It is at this point that the problem of order versus disorder again presents itself. Not content with destroying evil on earth Hare demands immortality for his uncles and his nieces. Thus, like the Twins, he disrupts the world order through excess of constructive powers. But the difference between the Twins and Hare is that the former do it out of a kind of power drive while Hare does it in the supposed interests of man.

According to the story Hare, of course, fails. So obstinately, however, does he refuse to accept the inevitable that Earthmaker consents to an apparent revision of the world order in one respect. He will grant man the possibility of transcending death, by means of successive reincarnations, on condition that he agrees to face life and its vicissitudes in accordance with a specific ethical code. This is, of course, the theme of the Medicine Rite. For man, then, an exception to the law of birth, growth and death is permitted to this extent—he can repeat the cycle of birth, growth and decay an indefinite number of times.

But it is naturally in religion and ritualism that we must expect to find the best illustrations of the basic principles we have so far discussed in connection with social organization and mythology and to these we shall now turn.

4. RELIGION

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Because of the highly complex character of Winnebago religion I shall confine myself primarily to an analysis of the nature of the powers the spirits and deities are supposed to possess, the relationship postulated between them and man, and the requests man makes